2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

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9. See above, pp. 166, 168. On the designation of Badagas as a caste, see Hockings, 1968 b, *passim*.

482 205

10. Ward, 1821, lxv; see above, p. 142. Until 1878 the mails were carried by teams of runners; Grigg, 1880, 408.

494

11. The district is unusually well endowed in this respect, for it is only the size of Warwickshire or Luxemburg and slightly smaller than Rhode Island State. From Ootacamund some of the major cities of South India are also served: Madurai, Salem, Mysore, Bangalore, Coimbatore, Palghat and Calicut (Kozhikode).

212

12. India, 1962, 133; Moses, 1964, 33, found 73% of Badaga males and 50% of females literate ($N = 200$). My sample in 1963 was 420.

177 178

13. There are a few who combine the business trip with a pilgrimage, but this is not usual.

14. This purposive sample was drawn from 656 interviews in the district.

177 207

15. $Chi^2 = 5.18$, $P < 0.03$. This middle-aged group had grown up during the slump which spanned the 1930s and which is reflected in the low food-grain prices of those years; see Madras, 1965, 37.

125

16. *manetana*, literally 'house-stage' or 'house-level'; compare Kannada *manetana*, translated as 'household,' 'race, family' by Kittel, 1894, 1207, the connotation being a family of worthy people.

128

17. Grigg, 1880, 366. These were village magistrates and clerks; see above, p. 172.

554 622 647 538 554

18. These social distinctions have over a century of history. They are crystallized in various proverbs as well as being universally recognized normative concepts. One proverb, for example, runs: 'Though it is hot water it will extinguish fire.' This refers to group loyalties: though we may have a friendship with a man of another lineage, village, faction, phratry or community, we will take the side of our own group against his when the need arises. Other proverbs relate to particular social distinctions, e.g., between one village and another:

'Even if he is headman of his own village, he is not superior to the son of the widow of the last house in another village.'

'If you are not cunning, do not go to Jakkatala; if you are poor, do not go to Ke:ti.'

E.g., between phratries.

'If a crow makes a dropping on you it is a bad sign; if a Ha:ruva shouts at you it is a bad sign.'

E.g., between affines and agnates:

'If brothers curse each other, one can still build his house on his brother's threshold; if in-laws curse, leave and run away.'

'Though she is our sister, is her husband ours?' (In a later work I plan to analyse some 1300 Badaga proverbs).

[p. 238 is blank]

489 up or down the Nilgiri escarpment by hand, on horseback, or on bullock carts (Ward 1821: lxv). With such a restriction it was impossible for Badagas to export fresh vegetables to other parts of India, even had they been interested in doing so (Grigg 1880: 480).

In 1899 a railway was completed from Coimbatore to Coonoor, and by 1913 it reached as far as Ootacamund. Its construction involved Badaga contractors and Badaga laborers, giving to many their first experience of earning cash by working. When the 1914-1918 War began there was thus a quick and easy means of exporting fresh vegetables to all parts of India, and even beyond.

During the years between the two wars trucks became a common phenomenon in the District, and roads were improved to accommodate them. Some of the Badagas who became middlemen purchased trucks to improve their business.

At this time a local bus service also began. In the years since World War II the network of bus routes has become so complex that there is no longer a Badaga hamlet anywhere which is more than three miles from a bus route leading to one of the towns. 57 different routes are now traveled within the Nilgiris District, some by several competing companies.

The existence of buses in such profusion has helped the Badagas in more matters than marketing. They are now able to go to town frequently -- typically once a week -- and thus their children can attend high school and even college without having to lose their close contact with the home. Literacy and newspapers have spread, too, with the help of the easy transportation system. Literacy today is quite as high in the rural population of the Nilgiris as it is in Madras City, according to a survey which I conducted: in 1963, 77.8% of Badaga males, and 51.8% of females, were literate; whereas in 1961 69.6% of Madras City males, and 48.2%

517 Preferred movie theme:

No films seen	17.6%
All kinds	19.6%
Modern social themes	19.3%
Historical or religious themes	22.3%
Adventures and thrillers	2.0%
(Not ascertained)	19.3%

(125) The sample was drawn, on a random basis, from all Badaga hamlets in the stippled areas shown in the map on p. 30.

207 (554) Transistor radios are highly valued but difficult to obtain in India. They are valued partly as a prestige symbol and partly as a constant source of light music. Only the wealthy Badagas own radio sets, but nearly every hamlet has at least one set, either privately owned or provided for public use by the government. Many tea-shops also have radios. It is therefore easy enough for people to hear the radio, even if they cannot own one. Radios in India carry much government propaganda, especially information directed toward the improvement of farming practices and village cooperatives. These broadcasts are not often heard in the Nilgiris, however, because the vast majority of sets are constantly tuned to light music coming from the commercial Radio Ceylon. In a sample of 420 Badaga men and women 16.9% said they never listen to radio, 15.5% only heard music, 38.3% heard news as well as music, and 14.5% listened specifically to news broadcasts; only 1.6% of the sample mentioned informative talks as being of interest to them.

207 517 (125)

(125) (This sample, like all others in this study, was drawn only from the stippled areas shown on the map, p. 30. These areas were selected so as to represent the full range of economic activities, distances from towns, and relations with the settlements of other communities, throughout the Nilgiri Plateau.)

178 tional occupations include school-teachers, local government officials, bus drivers,
463 and factory workers.

Our sample of 301 adolescent and adult Badaga males (aged 15-85) in 1963
463 had the following employment pattern; (the categories are taken from the Census of
[125] India):

I	Cultivating own or rented land	59.6%
II	Agricultural laborer	5.0%
III	Forestry and livestock	.0%
IV	Cottage industries	0.7%
V	Manufacturing	3.7%
VI	Construction	4.0%
VII	Trade and business	0.3%
VIII	Transport and communications	3.7%
IX	Teaching and "professions"	13.0%
X	Non-workers, students	10.0%

It is clear that farm-work is still the most prevalent activity; but now a substantial proportion of the men are working in occupations (Categories V to IX) that are typical of participation in a monetary economy; with the important exception of commerce itself.

Law and Administration

Since early in the 19th Century the Badagas were indirectly ruled by
177 British administrators. Contact with the British had relatively little effect in the
[175] early years, however. The transition from a barter to a cash economy was very
[65] slow, although in the last century the British did introduce a few new crops and new tools to the Badagas. Only in the 1860's did the Badagas really feel a heavy
[MM] impact from the presence of the British. Two things happened at that time. One
[241] was the appearance of a separate Badaga Christian community encouraged and protected by the local Englishmen; the other was the legal end to slash-and-burn cultivation and the fixing of all field boundaries.

121 matter by Lambert (1962).

[177] In another study by Lambert, this one of factory-workers in Poona (1963), he discusses the types of social change that accompany the "modernization" process.

554 A comparable situation to that of these urban workers can already be seen in the

[121] "modernization" of the Badagas: Badagas are finding social mobility much easier and much more rapid than it was half a century ago; more complex divisions of labor are emerging with the appearance of labor contractors and college graduates among the ranks of the Badagas; people are becoming cognizant that their lot can be changed

554 with effort as well as good luck. This last point can even be supported with some

82? statistical evidence: in a sample of 420 Badagas (including 119 females), the follow-

[125] ing responses were given to the question, "Does success in life depend mainly on luck?" --

Yes, mainly on luck	47.4%
Both on luck and hard work	4.3
No, only on hard work	46.4
No, only on God's will	0.2
(Not ascertained)	1.7

("Luck", or "good fortune", was thought to be the factor which caused uncontrollable circumstances to act in favor of the individual. The English word luck or lakku is sometimes used in Badagu speech.)

Females stressed luck much more than hard work (61.3% favored luck, 31.9% hard work), whereas males showed an opposite bias (41.9% favored luck,

(461) while 52.2% stressed hard work). It is thus true of the Badagas that about half of them recognize the value of hard work (perhaps helped along by luck) in making a

(478) success out of their lives. The concept of success is not a new preoccupation in their economic activities; the concept of depending primarily upon one's own effort

8: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1982 AW50 Badaga AW50

5. Adoption and Inheritance

428 Upon the death of a family head only his sons inherit his property. The farm-land and cattle are divided between them, or else maintained undivided as joint family property. But with regard to the house, the Badagas have the unusual institution of ultimogeniture: it is the youngest son who inherits the house and usually keeps his aging mother and unmarried sisters in it. New houses might have to be built for the elder brothers. The ultimogeniture makes good sense in a society where often a girl was married by the age of 12, and where consequently the oldest son of an elderly widow might be no more than 13 or 14 years her junior. Her youngest son is more likely to be a young man in the prime of life, more vigorous, with fewer dependents, and better able to provide for his old mother. By the time he has grown up, his elder brothers have commonly married, cleared fresh farmland, and built themselves new houses near this land (Rivers 1906: 560; Frazer 1918: 81).

182 428 (582)

428 763 (212) Since the Badagas were until recently non-literate, and even now write wills only in rare cases, there has always been a series of rules to handle the transition of property from the dead to the living, whether lineal male descendants or adopted sons. Their substitute for a written will is the *sa:la jo:li*, a verbal statement made by the dying man. Each wish *(sa:la)* in it is normally followed by his relatives, but if any wish seems unfair they will immediately question him about it. Unfairness should here be construed as meaning an unequal division of property between the male heirs or too much generosity towards the wife and/or daughters. These people will try to reach a compromise with the dying man so that his wishes can later be followed without further argument.

428 (136) (164) (593) There are no rules about particular kinds of property going to particular categories of relatives, with the one exception that when the head of the household dies, his main house goes to his youngest son. Even so, the *value* of that house has to be divided between all the sons, so that the youngest may well have to give something to his elder brothers. The rights of the youngest son in the house are absolute. It is true that he must be ready to shelter his widowed mother there; yet if he wants to he can sell the house without prior consultation. The funerals of his father and mother will be held there, under the superintendence of their *eldest* son. Yet if the eldest son wants to bring Kota musicians to perform at the funeral, and the youngest son prohibits this, his will must prevail since it is his house.

● 125 115 428 In 1963 I interviewed a sample of 301 Badaga males (aged 15 and above), and a further sample of 119 adult females. These people came from all parts of the Nilgiri District; and one of the questions asked concerned the number of houses that they "owned." In Table 1 it will be seen that 38% of the men did own houses, but only 19% owned more than one house. The